1410

DETECTION

OF A

CONSPIRACY

FORMED BY THE

UNITED IRISHMEN.

IT has long been thought, that the French have formed a regular plan for organizing an active and effective force within theſe States; and I am perſuaded, that after what I am now going to lay before the public ſhall have been read with attention, few people will be ſo blind as not to perceive that this opinion was well founded. The Pariſian Propagande have, in every country that they wiſhed to ruin, found villains in abundance ready to engage in their ſervice. The ambitious they have allured by the proſpect of power, and the needy by that of pillage. In America there is leſs ambition and leſs poverty than in moſt other countries, and, therefore, though ſome traitors have been found amongſt them, the *natives* were not much to be relied on, in the proſecution of any deſign, evidently hoſtile to the intereſts and honour of their country. They might be deceived, they might be duped, to lend their aid indirectly to ſome ſuch deſign; but no man, who is led on in the dark, can be ſafely confided in; becauſe, at the firſt dawn of

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ſight, it is a thouſand to one but he makes his retreat.

The French ſeem to have been fully aware of this. Indeed, they learnt this truth from the mortifying defection of the AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. There were many well-meaning men, who became members of theſe ſeditious meetings from ignorance, and who diſcovered no inconſiderable zeal in propagating their principles; but, as ſoon as the bandage was torn from their eyes, and they perceived the real views of DALLAS‡ and the other leaders, they turned their backs on them with deteſtation.

This leſſon induced the French to exert their "*diplomatic ſkill*" in chooſing inſtruments more fit for their purpoſe. Ignorance, when allied with honeſty, was no tool for them to work with. Real, ſincere villainy, then, without property, without principles, without country, and without character; dark and deſperate, unnatural and blood-thirſty ruffians; theſe were what they wanted; and where could they have ſought them with ſuch certainty of ſucceſs, as amongſt that reſtleſs, rebellious tribe, the emigrated UNITED IRISHMEN? The wretches known by this name had eſcaped from their country to avoid a puniſhment juſtly due to their crimes. *Here* they expected to find an organized ſyſtem of perpetual anarchy; the needy

‡ This wretch, who was the tool of GENET in forming the Democratic Societies here, has been mentioned, in a London periodical work, as a witneſs to diſprove Mr. HARPER's aſſertion reſpecting Genet's threat to *appeal to the people* from their government.—The people in London do not know DALLAS, or no man there could have the impudence to oppoſe his *oath* to Mr. Harper's *bare word*. But, beſides the immenſe difference in the credibility of the two men, Mr. Harper is an independent gentleman, while Dallas was, and is, the *ſtipendiary lawyer for France*.—His living, in a great meaſure, depends on the ſalary he receives from that ſource, and this appointment he had juſt received from GENET at the time that he gave his contradictory teſtimony.—He is a Creole.

anticipated a life of lazineſs and plunder; the ambitious thought to graſp on power already moulded to their hands; and all counted upon a ſtate of things, congenial to their own wicked diſpoſitions.

Happily for us, they were deceived. They found a government, which, if too weak (like their own) to puniſh conſpirators according to their deſerts, was yet too ſturdy to fall proſtrate at their feet. They found property protected from their fraternizing clutches; they ſaw their hopes of political conſequence vaniſh like a dream; and, inſtead of careſſes, condolence and applauſe, from the people, they met with the ſame virtuous abhorrence that had followed them from the ſhores of their native land.

Thus diſappointed, thus mortified, thus humbled and diſgraced, it was not to be wondered at, that they conceived a hatred againſt America equal to that which they entertained againſt their own country, and it is ſtill leſs to be wondered at, that they enrolled themſelves in the treacherous ſervice of France.

The firſt notice I had of the exiſtence of a Society of United Iriſhmen *here*, was by a printed paper (a copy of which the reader will ſee by-and by) dated the 18th December laſt, and ſigned Js. REYNOLDS. It was envelloped in a piece of paper addreſſed to me, and was left by an unknown hand, at the houſe of a perſon in Market-Street. It was on the 16th of January that I received this paper; and, in about three weeks afterwards, the Plan of the Conſpiracy was conveyed to me through the ſame channel.

This *Plan*, which is called a *Conſtitution*,* is printed in a ſmall octavo pamphlet, bearing date

* This is the age of *conſtitutions*. Amongſt the followers of PAINE they will doubtleſs continue faſhionable things; but, when

the 8th of Auguſt laſt. The title page imports, that it was printed at Philadelphia for the ſociety; but the printer's name is very cautiouſly omitted. The perſon who encloſed me the pamphlet has, indeed, written in the margin the name of a printer, who, from the villanous publications which have already come from his preſs, I make no doubt was really the man; but this evidence is too weak for me to proceed upon in publiſhing his name to the world, as guilty of an offence, which amounts to treaſon againſt the United States.——Here follows the *Plan* of the *Conſpiracy*.

DECLARATION and CONSTITUTION of the AMERICAN SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN.—Philadelphia, printed for the Society Auguſt 8, 1797.

DECLARATION.

Six hundred years have paſt, ſince diviſion and fraud reduced Ireland to colonial ſubſerviency; the diviſion of her people has ever ſince ſubjected them to the laſh and to the goad of a foreign tyranny; a tyranny more odious than Aſiatic deſpotiſm.

In our day and generation we have ſeen and we have felt. It is not neceſſary; there is not now time coolly to count over the long black catalogue of her baleful wrongs. There is not now time to argue and complain. THIS IS THE TIME TO ACT. *To act with energy we muſt act with union. Iriſh-*

the dark ſcheme of conſpirators takes the name, I think it is time for ſenſible and honeſt men to ceaſe making uſe of it to expreſs a *mode of government*.

men are united at home, we will not be disunited abroad.

Our love for freedom has not been lessened by what we have experienced of its effects, or for Ireland by our distance. Under the sacred influence of devotion to the UNION, EQUALITY AND LIBERTY of ALL MEN, *we gladly embrace the solemn ties by which we wish to be bound to one another, and hereby form ourselves into an association,* under the name of "THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN," adopting the following

CONSTITUTION.

[The declared intention of procuring "*Equality* "*and Liberty to ALL men,*" is a clear proof Ireland alone was not in their view. But, as we go on, we shall perceive that neither country nor its concerns are at all included in the objects of these people. The words *Ireland, Irishmen,* &c. are mere substitutes for other words, like the cant of the pick-pockets, according to which a *hog* means a *shilling,* a *pig, sixpence,* and so on. This will clearly appear from the articles and TEST of the precious constitution.]

Section 1. That ALL SUCH PERSONS, and such only, shall be eligible to this Society of United Irishmen, as shall have suffered in the cause of freedom, or who, by their zeal for THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND, shall have rendered themselves distinguished and worthy of attachment and trust.

[Thus, you see, it is not IRISHMEN alone, who are eligible to this Society; but ALL SUCH PERSONS as shall, according to their cant, have *suffered in the cause of freedom,* or have shewn their zeal for *the rights of mankind!* In other

words, every ſcoundrel, of whatever nation, is eligible, provided he has been manacled or tranſported, or has rendered himſelf worthy of the gibbet, for ſome attempt at rebellion or ſome act of treaſon, no matter under what government or on what occaſion; or, provided his ſeditious principles are ſo well known and eſtabliſhed as to leave no room to doubt of his attachment to the cauſe. *Americans*, then, and *Britons*, and *Frenchmen*, and men of every country being eligible to the Society, can any one be ſilly enough to ſuppoſe, that the conſpiracy had *Ireland* in view? What had any of theſe people to do with *Ireland?* But, on the abſurdity of this we ſhall have time to remark by-and-by. Indeed, the TEST itſelf gives the lie to this cant about Ireland. All that is neceſſary to remark on this ſection is, *that it provides for the admiſſion of every diſcontented factious man in the United States*: and that the latter part of it is no more than a copy of the qualification clauſe of the Jacobin Club at Paris, except that the latter required poſitive proof from every new member of his having *actually committed ſome crime deſerving the halter*, while our more liberal conſpirators, thinking it unjuſt to exclude a villain merely becauſe he has failed of ſucceſs, are willing, in ſome caſes, to admit the *intention* as equal in merit to the *deed*.

Section 2. That no perſon ſhall be propoſed for admittance but by a member in his place.

Section 3. That no propoſition for the admittance of a member ſhall be received, unleſs it be ſeconded by another member preſent; and that it ſhall likewiſe be neceſſary for the propoſer and ſeconder to vouch for the moral character and CIVISM of the perſon propoſed; in defect of which no election ſhall take place.

Section 4. Members ſhall have the privilege of propoſing or ſeconding the propoſal of candidates, in any Section, as well as that to which they belong.

Section 5. A candidate propoſed agreeable to the 2d, 3d, and 4th Sections, ſhall not be ballotted for, until the next meeting after that in which he has been propoſed, unleſs known to two-thirds of the members preſent, (two black-beans to reject without a reaſon, and one with reaſons), but, upon his election, he ſhall be immediately admitted, under the following forms:—

Section 6. Before a perſon elected ſhall be conſidered a member, the Preſident ſhall put to him the following queſtions: an affirmative to the 1ſt, 5th and 6th, and a negative anſwer to the 2d, 3d, and 4th, ſhall be indiſpenſable to admiſſion as ſuch:

Section 7. I. Do you believe a free form of government, and uncontrouled opinion on all ſubjects, to be the common rights of all the human ſpecies?

II. Do you think the people of Ireland are in poſſeſſion of theſe rights?

III. Do you think the government of Great Britain ever was, or is now diſpoſed, to acknowledge, or aſſent to the freedom of Ireland?

IV. Do you think Great Britain ought, of right, to govern Ireland?

V. Are you willing to do all that in you lies to promote the emancipation of Ireland, and the eſtabliſhment of a republican form of government there?*

* Theſe two queſtions, 4 and 5, are well worth the attention of the reader, particularly if he be an Iriſhman. The anſwer to queſtion 4, is to be in the *negative*, and that to queſtion 5, in the *affirmative*; conſequently, the initiated ſwears, "that he does *not* 'think *that Great Britain ought to govern Ireland*; and, that he 'will do the utmoſt in his power for the eſtabliſhment of *a* 'republican *form of government there.*" Now mark. When theſe

VI. Are you willing to bind yourſelf, by a ſolemn *obligation*, to the principles you have acknowledged?

Section 8. That upon the candidate anſwering theſe queſtions, as required by the ſixth ſection, the following ſhall be adminiſtered as a teſt, all preſent ſtanding:

TEST.

I A. B. in the preſence of the SUPREME BEING *do moſt ſolemnly ſwear, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, promote the emancipation of Ireland from the tyranny of the Britiſh Government.—That I will uſe the like endeavours for encreaſing, and perpetuating, the warmeſt affection among all religious denominations of men, and for the attainment of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, TO MANKIND, IN WHATEVER NATION I MAY RESIDE. Moreover, I do ſwear, that I will, as far as in me lies, promote the intereſt of this, and every other Society of United Iriſhmen, and of each of its members—and that I will never, from fear of puniſhment, or hope of reward, divulge any of its* SECRETS *given to me as ſuch.*

Section 8. That the TEST of this Society, the INTENTION of this INSTITUTION, (in all other reſpects than as a *ſocial body*, attached to freedom,) be conſidered as SECRET AND IN-

miſcreants were in Ireland, they were ſeditious to be ſure; but, they never openly avowed their intentions. On the contrary, they wiſhed, they ſaid, to preſerve *the eſſence of the Britiſh Conſtitution*; this conſtitution they were everlaſtingly *extolling*; they frequently expreſſed the warmeſt *attachment to his Majeſty*; and when they were called *Republicans*, and told that their intention was to effect *a ſeparation from the ſiſter kingdom*, they called it a "*groſs ſlander*"!! This has been the conſtant practice of all the run-away patriots, from PRIESTLEY to REYNOLDS. Surely ſuch proofs of their duplicity muſt in time open the eyes of their deluded adherents!

VIOLABLE in all caſes, but between members, and in the body of the Society.

Section 9. That nevertheleſs, a member of the Society ſhall not be conſidered as divulging its ſecrets, who ſhall propound to perſons, diſpoſed to become members, the ſenſe of the ſix propoſitions which *precede the teſt.*

[Here we ſee that Ireland is almoſt dropped out of ſight. It is juſt mentioned in order to keep up the cant; but the initiated is to ſwear, that he will do the utmoſt of his power for the attainment of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, to MANKIND IN WHATEVER NATION HE MAY RESIDE! Ireland, therefore, if not totally diſmiſſed by the TEST, is no more contemplated by it than America is, taking the words in their literal ſenſe: and we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that this bleſſed liberty and equality is intended for America alone.

The criminality of the purpoſe and end of the combination is moſt amply proved by the ſection that immediately follows the TEST.—"The TEST "of this Society and the INTENTION of the in-"ſtitution ſhall be kept SECRET and INVIOLA-"BLE."—The members may tell the world that it is a "*ſocial body* attached to freedom;" that is, they may give out that its principles are friendly to general liberty; they may repreſent it as one of thoſe collections of individuals that men of ſenſe uſually laugh at, but they muſt not ſay a word about the INTENTION of the inſtitution, nor muſt they diſcover the nature of the OATH.

Now, if nothing more were meant than an aſſociation againſt *the Government of Great Britain*, which they muſt well know would excite contempt and ridicule, why all this *ſecrecy?* Why conceal the nature of the oath? and, particularly, why conceal the *intention* of the inſtitution?

By the 9th ſection we ſee, that the diſcoveries, made even to thoſe who offer themſelves as members, are to extend no farther than "the ſenſe of "the ſix propoſitions *preceding* the TEST." The Teſt itſelf they are to know nothing of, 'till they have gone too far to retreat, and then they are bound not to divulge what they have learnt. Firſt, the initiated member ſwears, that he "will never, "from *fear of puniſhment* or *hope of reward*, di-"vulge any of the *ſecrets* given to him as ſuch;" and then the INTENTION of the inſtitution is immediately given to him as one of thoſe *inviolable ſecrets!* If there were nothing wicked, nothing highly criminal, nothing dark and traiterous in this INTENTION, why is the diſcovery of it thus guarded againſt? Men never "*fear puniſhment*" for concealing what is not criminal. Indeed, this TEST ſtamps the character of the combination: a Teſt of ſecrecy, as to the *motives* of the members, is eſſential to a conſpiracy; and it is that which diſtinguiſhes this ſociety from a "*ſocial body*," which is the character they wiſh to appear under in the eyes of the world.

Here again we perceive the plan to be little more than a copy of that of the Jacobin club in France. The *Chriſtian Religion* is diſcarded, and the initiated wretch ſwears by the "SUPREME BEING." Next *Liberty and Equality to mankind* is the object, *in whatever country they may reſide*; the world are to be told, that the ſociety is merely a *ſocial body*; but its real INTENTION is to be kept a ſecret under the moſt ſolemn injunctions. Thus proceeded the Jacobins at Paris, that *ſocial body* who overturned the government of France. PLAYFAIR ſays, they had *two creeds*, one to *amuſe the public*, and another that, for a long time, was known but to the members.

The oath of ſecrecy neceſſarily forbids a communication of one of the pamphlets containing the TEST, &c. The perſon who made this communication to me muſt, therefore, have broken his oath, or muſt have purloined the pamphlet. I rather think the former; becauſe, had he not thus committed himſelf, were it not that he was aſhamed to own himſelf one of the conſpirators, and, at the ſame time, incurred the odium of having betrayed his companions, it is pretty clear, that, poſſeſſing an inclination to make the diſcovery, he would long ago have come forward as the inſtrument of an effectual proſecution. He tells me in a note, which covered one of the papers, that he has *found a clue* to all their ſecrets, and, as I before obſerved, he writes down the name of the printer in the margin. This latter circumſtance was enough; for, if the printing could be proved, or if it can be proved now, the printer, at leaſt, can be puniſhed as a conſpirator, and this may lead to a diſcovery of his employers.

Having thus remarked on the deſign of the conſpirators, I ſhould now come to the means provided for *inſuring its ſucceſs*, by which the reader will at leaſt ſee the extent of the plan, and will be fully convinced that its real object is the deſtruction of the American Government.]

Section 10. The member thus initiated ſhall ſubſcribe his name to the conſtitution, and pay to the treaſurer, half a dollar.

Section 11. The monthly ſubſcription of each member ſhall be a quarter of a dollar; payable on the firſt meeting in every month: if the member be elected after the twentieth of any month, he ſhall pay no more than his fee of initiation for that month.

Section 12. If any member neglect to pay the reſpective ſums before mentioned, for the ſpace of three months, the ſecretary of his ſection ſhall then ſignify, in writing to the member, the amount of the arrears, and demand payment, and that in default thereof, his name and the ſum due, ſhall be publicly read by the treaſurer of the ſection to which he may belong, on the three next ſucceeding meetings thereof, and if his arrears be not paid on the third reading, he ſhall be excluded the Society. But excluded members, upon paying all arrears due, and the uſual contributions that were payable during his excluſion, may apply for admiſſion, agreeable to the uſual form. Provided, nevertheleſs, that this rule ſhall not extend to ſuch members as ſhall declare their inability to pay, in reply to the ſecretary, in an authentic form, and where local circumſtances may render their attendance impoſſible, or highly inconvenient.

Section 13. Any perſon elected by ballot, who ſhall not attend three ſucceſſive meetings after his election, ſhall forfeit it, unleſs due cauſe ſhall be ſhewn to the proper ſection for his abſence.

Of the Officers of Sections.

Section 1. There ſhall be a preſident and ſecretary for each ſection elected, by ballot, who ſhall continue in office *ſix weeks*—they ſhall be re-eligible after a period equal to that, during which they were in office.

Section 2. That a treaſurer ſhall be appointed by ballot, who ſhall continue in office for *three months*, and ſhall not be re-eligible until the expiration of three months.

Section 3. The ſecretary ſhall have power, at the deſire of the Preſident, to convoke *extra meetings*,

Section 4. Each Section ſhall meet *weekly*, or oftener in ſpecial caſes.

Section 5. The hours of meeting ſhall be *at ſeven o'clock* from the 25th September till 25th March, and at eight from the 25th March till 25th September.

Section 6. The chair ſhall be taken at the above hours preciſely, if there ſhall be ten members preſent.

Section 7. That in the abſence of the Preſident, or any other officer, the Section ſhall call a member to the office, *pro tem.*

Section 8. That upon the Preſident taking the chair, he ſhall direct the ſecretary to read the minutes of the preceding meeting.

Section 9. The Roll ſhall be called previouſly to every adjournment.

Section 10. The ballotting for, and the nomination, or initiation of candidates, ſhall precede further buſineſs.

Section 11. That on open votes the Preſident ſhall have a caſting voice, and when he ſpeaks to a motion, he ſhall vacate the chair.

Section 12. That every motion ſhall be made ſtanding, ſhall be delivered to the Preſident or Chairman in writing, if required; muſt be ſeconded by another member, alſo ſtanding, before it ſhall be received by the Preſident; any matter of peculiar importance ſhall firſt be debated in a committee of the whole.

Section 13. The mover of a queſtion ſhall have liberty to ſpeak in reply; but no other ſhall ſpeak more than once, but in explanation on the ſame ſubject, except in a committee of the whole.

Section 14. In matter of order, the Preſident or Chairman ſhall decide finally.

Section 15. That in each ſection a committee ſhall be appointed to ſelect *extracts from political works*, to be read occaſionally.

Section 16. That fines ſhall be levied for diſorderly behaviour, but not exceeding fifty cents each, which fine ſhall be nominated by the Preſident or Chairman; and in caſe of appeal, be decided by the majority of members preſent.

Section 17. No perſon ſhall interrupt the Chairman or any other member while ſpeaking, unleſs to the point of order; repetition of interruption, contrary to this rule, to ſubject the diſorderly member to ſuch cenſure, beſides a fine, as the ſociety ſhall think fit. Extremely diſorderly behaviour ſhall ſubject the offender to expulſion, at the will of three-fourths of the members preſent.

Section 18. A member abſenting himſelf from his ſection three nights ſucceſſively, (without acquainting it of the cauſe in writing, or by means of another member, who ſhall declare upon his *honour*, that he is authorized by ſuch member, to make an apology for him, and offering ſome ſufficient reaſon for his abſence) ſhall be liable to a fine of fifty cents, and on refuſing to pay ſuch fine ſhall not be entitled to vote in his ſection, or tranſact any other duty in the ſociety until he ſhall have paid his fine.

Of Certificates.

Section 1. CERTIFICATES ſhall be proviſionally granted to members of the ſociety removing from their vicinage, which ſhall be ſigned by the Preſident and Secretary of the ſection to which the members belong.

Section 2. A member going to a foreign country, or to a diſtant part of the United States, ſhall give a *week's notice of his intention*, but in urgent caſes, the *committee of ſecrecy*, of his ſection, may grant ſuch certificate.

Section 3. No member is entitled to a certificate, but in the foregoing cases.

Section 4. That members, on their return, muſt re-deliver their certificates to the Preſident or Secretary, in the preſence of the ſection to which they belong.

Of an Enlarged Organization.

Section 1. THAT when any ſection ſhall conſiſt of eighty members in a city or large town, it ſhall ſeparate into two ſections: *country ſections* may ſeparate as their peculiar circumſtances may render expedient.

Section 2. That any ſection, *ſtate committee*, or the *general executive committee*, ſhall have the power of appointing an *agent* or *agents*, and furniſhing him or them with copies of the conſtitution, for the purpoſe *of forming new ſections*.

Section 3. Each ſection ſhall, quarterly, make an exact return of the *numbers*, *names*, *reſidences*, and *occupation of its members*, to its proper ſtate committee, and the ſtate committee ſhall make ſimilar returns, at like periods, to the *general executive committee*, who ſhall keep an exact regiſter of names thus returned.

Section 4. As ſoon as there ſhall be two or more ſections in any ſtate of the American Union, they ſhall be repreſented in a *State Committee*, in the following manner, viz. when a ſection ſhall amount to eight members, they ſhall ſend *one Delegate* to ſaid committee: when to twenty-two, two Delegates; and when to thirty-three, three Delegates, who ſhall not be re-eligible until they have been out of office, for a time, equal to their term of ſervice—two-thirds of whom ſhall form a quorum. The ſtate committee ſhall meet monthly, or oftener,

if neceſſary, and be partially renewed by a member from each ſection every month.

Section 5. *Diſtant Sections* ſhall have the power of appointing perſons to repreſent them in their reſpective ſtate committees, from among their brethren whoſe local ſituation may render attendance more convenient.

Section 6. Each ſection ſhall appoint a committee of ſecrecy and correſpondence, to communicate with the ſtate committee, which ſhall be regulated in like manner. It ſhall alſo elect, every ſix weeks, a delegate, and *ſub-delegate* to attend the meetings of neighbouring ſections, and report proceedings.

Section 7. That the ſecretary of every ſection ſhall, when a member takes his ſeat, and ſubſcribes the teſt, take down his place of reſidence, which he ſhall carefully tranſmit to the *committee of ſecrecy* thereof, who ſhall divide the ſections into *ſub-ſections of eight members* who may live contiguous to one another; that every *eighth man ſhall have the charge of the other ſeven members, to warn them in caſes of urgency*, or to extraordinary meetings of the ſection: the ſecret committee or ſecretary of the ſection, ſhall by warning thoſe eighths, conſider themſelves as warning the whole ſection.

Section 8. When two or more ſtate committees have been formed, they ſhall elect two of their members from each to a general executive committee, the firſt of whom, from each ſtate, ſhall go out of office by lot, and the reſt in rotation, and be replaced by a new member every three months, and not be re-eligible until a period equal to their term of ſervice. *The general executive committee is to poſſeſs the direction of the great intereſts of the whole ſociety, and keep up a conſtant communication with the committee of the different ſtates.*

Section 9. The general executive committee ſhall, when their number exceeds four, elect from among

themſelves a committee of ſecrecy and correſpondence, conſiſting of three members, one of whom ſhall go out of office every three months, and ſhall be re-eligible after a period equal to their time of ſervice.

Section 10. The General Executive Committee ſhall aſſemble as often as the intereſts of the inſtitution demand, or when required ſo to do by the committee of any ſtate.

Section 11. There ſhall be a Treaſurer for each ſtate, to whom the Treaſurers of the Sections are to return quarterly payments and accounts. Each of the State Treaſurers, are, at like periods, to make ſimilar returns to the Treaſurer appointed by the General Executive Committee, who is to continue in office three months, and to be accountable to their Committee of ſecrecy and correſpondence; he ſhall alſo, if required, exhibit his accounts to the ſecret committee of any ſection. The State Treaſurer ſhall be appointed by the State Committee.

Section 12. Every officer, and every member of a committee, is reſponſible to the body by whom he was elected, and liable to any puniſhment they may, on account of his delinquency, inflict.

Section 13. No perſon ſhall be eligible to hold two offices within his reſpective ſection.

Section 14. That when the State Committees, or the General Executive Committee, or a majority of the ſections recommend a reviſion of the preceding conſtitution, it ſhall take place.

[Now, leaving the mere formalities and other trifling things aſide, let us take this plan and look at it in its ſubſtance. It is very properly called an "*enlarged organization*," for it embraces an extent no leſs than that of the whole Union.

Firſt, we ſee, that every reſtleſs wretch, of whatever nation, is admitted into any ſection of the

ſociety, and has his name, place of reſidence, &c. enrolled on its liſt; but, leſt the aſſemblages ſhould become unwieldy, or alarming to the magiſtrates, theſe ſections when they get to a certain ſtrength, ſeparate, and the detached parts form new ones, juſt as bees ſwarm when the hive is over-crowded—The troops being thus enrolled in the ſections, the next thing is to render them manageable. Were the ſections ſubjected to no ſuperior command; were they to remain ſcattered over the country without any common head, they would be like ſo many independent companies without a commander. But theſe troops have not been raiſed to *lie in idleneſs*, and, therefore a mode of uniting their efforts is provided. The ſections in every ſtate are to ſend delegates to form a *State Committee*; and theſe ſixteen State Committees are to ſend delegates to form a "*General* EXECUTIVE *Committee*;" and this is the whole brought to one point.

So much for the organization. Now for the operative part of the plan.

"*The General* EXECUTIVE *Committee*" (which I have not the leaſt doubt, is now ſitting in Philadelphia) keeps up a conſtant communication with the State-Committees, and from it, the whole Society, or rather *army*, receives "directions" when and how to act. It has returns made to it of the numbers enrolled in each State, of the names, reſidence, and occupation, of the perſons enrolled; by this means it is at all times informed of its ſtrength, and where that ſtrength lies.

When it is neceſſary TO ACT, the General *Executive* Committee are to diſpatch their orders to the State Committees; theſe to their ſections, and theſe again (by their committee of *ſecrecy*) to their *ſub-ſections*. Here the orders reach the *active troops*, and that there may be no confuſion in their

movements, these *sub-sections* consist of only *eight* men each, all *living near one another*, and one of these eight is a sort of non-commission officer, who(to use the very words of the conspirators) is to "have "the *charge* of the other seven, and is to WARN "them IN CASES OF URGENCY"!!!

Now, I appeal to any man of common sense, whether this infernal combination can possibly have any other object in view than an insurrection against the government of America. What "*cases of* "*urgency*" can arise *in this country*, what opportunity can offer itself *here*, for *overturning the British Government in Ireland?* Were the villains, indeed, furnished with *wings*; could they like other birds of passage, assemble in a flock and take their flight to Ireland; then the ostensible motive of the association would have something like plausibility about it; but as they are, this ostensible motive is a palpable absurdity, a mere trick, which has been invented in order to inveigle ignorant persons to take the TEST, and, in case of detection, to award the punishment which the law awards to *traitors* and *spies*; or at least, to leave room for doubt and contention in the courts of justice; a bad chance being better than none, and ten years imprisonment better than death.

That this conspiracy is intended *to aid the cause of France*, it is hardly necessary to insist on; every one must perceive it at the first glance.—What can these ragged ruffians expect to do *alone?* How can they alone support their current expences, exclusive of "*cases of urgency*," of arms, ammunition, &c. &c. By an attention to the financial part of their plan, you will perceive, that the money they collect from the members is barely sufficient to defray the charges which must necessarily be incurred for rooms to meet in. Who is to pay for printing their CONSTITUTIONS, their CER-

TIFICATES (which I hear are from an engraved copper plate); who is to pay for the time and travelling expences of all their Delegates from the Sections to the State Committees, and from them to the General Executive Committee at Philadelphia; who is to pay a ſum amounting to not leſs than *forty thouſand dollars* annually? Who but thoſe who boaſt of "*Diplomatic Skill*," and of their "*powerful faction in this country*;" thoſe who have long had in pay the leading *patriots* in Ireland, and who have conſtantly ſupported a hireling preſs in each of the principal Cities of America?

Next, obſerve that the cloſeſt intimacy exiſts between the ſans-culotte French, who are here, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the emigrated United Iriſhmen, and a baſe American printer, notoriouſly in the ſervice of France. Obſerve too, that NAPPER TANDY went from New York to France, and that the conſpiracy, as appears by its date, was not formed, 'till *after we heard of his arrival at Paris*.

The leaders in this conſpiracy are the very ſame perſons, who conducted that in Ireland. When a ſection of their deluded partizans, in that country, were taken unawares by the King's troops, no money but *French* was found upon them, and this in a retired part of the kingdom, where it was impoſſible theſe infatuated wretches could have come at through any other channel than that of the deſpots of Paris and their wicked agents. And, if a conſpiracy could be ſo effectually paid there, in a country at open war with France, with an *alien law*, vigorouſly enforced, how eaſy muſt it be for them to maintain a hired and regularly paid conſpiracy here, where there is no check whatſoever to their machinations!

This diabolical plan was formed on the 8th of Auguſt laſt, immediately before the YELLOW FEVER commenced its ravages in this city; with this in his recollection the reader will form his opinion reſpecting the following, which is a copy of the *printed paper*, before mentioned.

AMERICAN SOCIETY

OF

UNITED IRISHMEN.

WHEN the Society of United Iriſhmen was formed here, men were found emulous of crowding to the Iriſh Standard, for the aſpect of Ireland then, afforded hope that her wrongs would ſoon be redreſſed.—That view ſo conſoling to humanity has for a moment been obſcured; but it is not honourable to deſert a deſerving friend in diſtreſs, it is not honourable to abandon a meritorious cauſe, which, when proſperous we have ſworn to ſupport.

The ſociety is happy to find, that there is ſtill reaſon to think, the fire and the ſcourge, will not long be exerciſed over our brethren with impunity, that the tyrannical impriſonments, the rapes, the arſons, the tortures, and the military murders are about to be avenged, and, that a manly people, whom ſix hundred years ſlavery could not debaſe, are about to be reſtored to their rights.

We have cauſe to deplore the loſs we have ſuſtained by the diſeaſe which lately ſuſpended our meetings; and, we are unwilling to aſcribe the preſent neglect of attendance of ſome members, to unworthy motives—but, it is deemed a duty, to

notify you, that thoſe who in future abſent themſelves, cannot conformably to the 18th Article of the Conſtitution, be regarded as belonging to the aſſociation.

The next meeting will be held at 7 o'clock on the evening of the 21ſt inſtant, in the African School-room, Willing's-alley, which lies between Third, Fourth, Walnut, and Spruce-ſtreets.

Signed by Order of the committee,

Js. REYNOLDS.

Philadelphia, December 18th, 1797.

This is the man, who began his canting letter, reſpecting his attack on Mr. Pickering, with declaring that he was come *here* in ſearch of "REPOSE"!!

This notice, I would have the reader believe, I have not publiſhed without good proof of its being ſigned by REYNOLDS, the ſeeker of "REPOSE." His name is *written*, and the hand writing has not only been carefully compared with the ſignature to a letter of his, now in my poſſeſſion; but has alſo been compared and veriſied before one of the judges in this city.* All that is now wanted is, good proof of the perſon who *printed*, or who *authorized printing*, the plan of the conſpiracy, which is called the CONSTITUTION, and if any American, *native* or *adopted*, is in poſſeſſion of the means of producing ſuch proof, and neglects to produce it, he is to all intents and purpoſes a TRAITOR.†

* Judge PETERS.

† Since writing the above the printer has been diſcovered, but not before he had fled. A reward ought immediately to be put on his

I ſhall, now, briefly ſtate, what I have lately gathered reſpecting the members of which the conſpiracy now conſiſts, and reſpecting the manner in which they are to ACT, and on what occaſions. In the mean time, I would have THOSE, in whoſe power alone it is to counteract the baleful effects of this helliſh combination, to recollect, that any ALIEN LAW, which extends only to ALIENS of a *nation committing hoſtilities on the United States*, will not reach the members of this affiliation.*

I am informed, by one of the perſons who manage the affairs of the AFRICAN SCHOOL, that the United Iriſhmen have not aſſembled there, for ſome time paſt, and that the reaſon of this was, their number was become *too great* for ſo ſmall a room. I am alſo well informed, that two *Engliſhmen* have been admitted into the Society (I dare ſay there are two hundred) and that they earneſtly ſolicited *another Engliſhman* to join it. Their ſtrength, at this time, in this city and twenty miles round, conſiſts of above *fifteen hundred*; no contemptible number, if we conſider how ſhort the ſpace is, ſince they began to enliſt. A *ſection* has been formed at New-York, another at Baltimore, and another is either formed, or about to be formed,

head, unleſs he returns, in a ſhort ſpace, and gives up the author, REYNOLDS ſeems apprehenſive of ſome ſuch event, and is accordingly preparing for his departure.

* While I am writing this note, there is a bill paſſing through the lower Houſe of Congreſs, authorizing the preſident to cauſe to be ſeized and ſent out of the country, all ſuch *aliens* as have been convicted of *treaſon* or *ſedition* in other countries, or are *known to have fled hither to eſcape from the hands of juſtice*.—This is a very wiſe, and abſolutely a neceſſary meaſure. Citizen REYNOLDS may probably be forced back again to his offended country, to receive ſentence in thoſe courts which he fled from! All mankind will riſe united againſt theſe treacherous wretches; they will be driven from ſhore to ſhore; the indignant waves will at laſt hurl them on ſome deſert ſtrand to periſh and become food for the fowls of the air. The "*Monthly Review Enlarged*" will doubtleſs find in their fate, an excellent ſubject for an elegy.

at Chambersburgh, in this state. Indeed, there is very little doubt, but we shall very soon receive satisfactory information of their being organized in every state, and in every principal city and town in the Union.

With respect to their calling their troops into *actual service*, it is clear that they would proceed in the same manner as the Jacobins in every other country have done. Conspirators are always cowards; besides this, they know too well their weakness to attempt an attack on the Government, unaided by any other party, and unprotected by a foreign power. Their whole business therefore, at present, is, to organize themselves; to enlist and number their troops, and to lie in wait for what they very properly call, "*cases of URGENCY.*"

If the "*diplomatic skill*" of France had been exercised with such complete success as the tyrants of that wretched country supposed it was; if it had been found, upon trial, that she possessed a very numerous and formidable faction here entirely devoted to her orders, these "*cases of URGENCY*" might have arisen from internal commotions. This source now seems to be dried up. The dispatches from France have robbed the "Sister Republic" of all her adherents, except the most abandoned and infamous miscreants amongst the Americans, her own sans-culottes, and the half-gibbeted democrats from Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing, then, can give rise to one of those "*cases of URGENCY*" short of an invasion from France either from the Spanish territory, or from the sea; and, for an event of this kind the conspirators are now looking with hopes much more sanguine than the wandering seed of Abraham ever looked for the coming of the Messiah.

An invaſion on the coaſt is a thing naturally to be expected, unleſs an alliance is formed with Great Britain; and from Louiſiana or the Floridas it is to be expected, whether ſuch an alliance takes place or not. This, then, would be the "*caſe of* "*URGENCY*," and thus the conſpirators would act. Before the firſt panic would be over, the whole affiliation would be in movement. They would thwart, threaten, or collect mobs; openly oppoſe, or ſecretly betray, juſt as it ſuited their ſeveral ſituations. They are not viſible now, but then they would be ſeen and felt too. I make no doubt but they have members, in ſome capacity or other, in every public department. I ſhould not wonder if they had at this time fifty in the different branches of the Poſt-office. Thus has it proved in every country, which the infamous ſans-culottes have invaded with ſucceſs. In Holland, for inſtance, few people feared the invaders. The barriers were well fortified, well garriſoned, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, and the people appeared *unanimous* in their hatred of the enemy. But the fortreſſes fell, nobody could tell how; the French arrived as if it were *by appointment*, and many of thoſe who had been the loudeſt in their expreſſions againſt them, were the firſt that they took by the hand. Theſe villains had held a correſpondence with them, and afterwards made a boaſt of their treaſon; the jacobin affiliation ran through all the United Provinces; its members had crept into every department, civil and military; the mine was completed, and, at the approach of the enemy it was ſprung. Juſt ſo was it in Italy, in Geneva, in Venice; ſo was it in Switzerland; ſo will it be in Spain, and ſo would it have been in Great Britain long ago, had it not been for the valour of her navy, and the watchfulneſs and vigour of her government.

To the danger of such a conspiracy America is peculiarly exposed. Her *distance from France* is often, and, I must add, very stupidly, held out as a guarantee for her safety. I might insist that there is no barrier between her and the Spanish territory, which nobody would deny; but, waving that, what, without the interference of Great Britain, is there to prevent twenty thousand sans-culottes from landing in this country? And, if they should do this, how many circumstances has America against her which no state in Europe knew any thing of!

From various causes these United States have become the resting place of ninety-nine hundredths of the factious villains, which Great Britain and Ireland have vomited from their shores. They are all schooled in sedition, are adepts at their trade, and they most certainly bear as cordial a hatred to this government as they did to their own. The French sans-culottes now here, capable of bearing arms, amount to at least thirty thousand, all furious ruffians, puffed up with vanity, starving with hunger, and sighing for conquest and pillage.

Great numbers of these wretches, of all countries, are what are called CITIZENS; so that no *alien law* will touch them. Several hundreds of French have been very lately admitted to this destructive privilege; and it is well known, that REYNOLDS is not only a citizen, but the *political father* of other citizens; for he has been suffered to vouch for their "good moral character and "*their attachment to the* "*Constitution*," a necessary prelude to their admission.* The penal code has been softened down, till it has no terrors, ex-

* It is said that care is taken in the bill now before Congress, to include all foreigners, whether they have gone through the formalities of *citizenship* or not, if they are *fugitives from justice*, which is the case with REYNOLDS, ROWAN, &c. &c.

cept for the honeſt man, who ſtands in need of *protection*. There are ſixteen governments, all in ſome meaſure independent of the general government, to whom the ſafety of the nation is committed, and theſe ſixteen are very far from being all in the hands of ſuch men as would lend their cordial ſupport to that general government. The villain, who would get his neck ſtretched in the Federal courts, would very probably eſcape through other hands. In ſuch a ſtate of things, the civil magiſtrate muſt hold a blunted, if not a broken, ſword; and as to the military, though I would be willing to ſtake every thing on their *valour*, yet valour alone, without ſkilful commanders and ſoldiers were diſciplined, is like a razor in the hands of a child.

But what renders the ſituation of America more favourable to the views of France than any other country, is the *negro ſlavery* to the ſouthward. On this it is that the villains ground their hope. It is ſaid, that ſome of the *free* negroes have already been admitted into the conſpiracy of the UNITED IRISHMEN, and that ſome ſlave-holders either in Carolina or Virginia have engaged, in "*a caſe of* URGENCY," to ſet their negroes free, in order to excite diſcontents amongſt thoſe of their neighbours, and thus involve the whole country in rebellion and bloodſhed. I do not take upon me to ſay that theſe preparatory ſteps have been taken, but this I know, that nothing could be thought more helliſh or better calculated to inſure ſucceſs.

There are two ſorts of people who will *ſmile* at all this, and will call it a mere bug-bear: theſe are, the muddy-headed men of indifference and the jacobins themſelves. But, I truſt the real friends of government will ſee it in its true light, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be lulled aſleep by the ſongs of Doctor "REPOSE" and his adherents. All that

these people want for the present is, to see the government *quiet*, and unsuspecting. This is what they wished in Great Britain and Ireland. Every precautionary measure of the legislature or the executive; every *inquiry*, however legal, however delicately conducted, they brand with the name of "jealous tyranny;" and to every honest man, who has the zeal to come forward in the discovery of their infernal plots, they give the appellation of SPY. This has had much influence on weak minds. Your *good-natured peaceable* man cannot bear the name of *spy* or *informer*: he would sooner see his neighbours burnt in their beds, and his own wife and children along with them. I hope, however, that there is yet good sense and spirit enough left amongst us to despise every thing these artful traitors may say, and to defeat every thing they may attempt. The man, who shall bring the leaders of this conspiracy to the halter, will deserve as well of his country, as he who shall shed his blood in its defence.

I should here dismiss the subject for the present; but, apprized of the dreadful effects, which the UNITED IRISHMEN have produced in their own country, it is impossible for me to suppress a hope that the above proofs of their dangerous, deceitful, and indefatigable villainy may reach their deluded adherents there; and, should this be the case, there is a remark or two, which it may not be amiss to add, though not necessary on this side the Atlantic.

That the impious and rebellious crew, called UNITED IRISHMEN, have been organized and are maintained by, and act under the directions of, the savage tyrants of France, every person in Ireland must have had repeated assurances; if, however, there are any who really doubt of this, and are not yet quite dead to conviction, their doubts

muſt certainly be removed by the evidence, which is now laid before them.

The perfidious French, who have conſtantly undermined by their intrigues, before they have dared to hoiſt their bloody ſtandard, ſaw, in the aſſociations of WHITE BOYS and VOLUNTEERS, a ſet of moſt excellent recruits for a *Jacobin affiliation*, which were very ſoon and very eaſily formed, under the name of UNITED IRISHMEN.

Numerous have been the arts by which theſe nefarious hirelings of France have ſeduced the ignorant from their attachment to their government and their King. Amongſt theſe, extolling the *liberty* and *happineſs* of the people of America has not been the leaſt ſucceſsful. This liberty, and this happineſs, they have held up to their deluded followers as the rich fruits of a ſucceſsful oppoſition to the parent country; as the fruit of rebellion, revolution, independence; and, in the ſtyle of the modern "JOCKEY OF NORFOLK," they have told them to "*make the application.*"

I could produce many inſtances of their hypocritical efforts of this ſort; but I ſhall content myſelf with one, taken from their addreſs to PRIESTLEY, on his departure for America, which I ſelect, becauſe it was ſigned by the villain REYNOLDS himſelf.

"You are going," ſay they, "to *a happier* "*world*, the world of Waſhington and Franklin." "——Yes! the Volunteers of Ireland ſtill live. "They live acroſs the Atlantic! Let this idea "animate us in our ſufferings, and may *the pure* "*principles and genuine luſtre of Freedom, reflected* "*from the* AMERICAN COASTS, *penetrate into our cells* "*and our dungeons!*"

After this, who would not have expected to ſee them ſatisfied with the government of America?

They aſſuredly ought to have been contented, or at leaſt *quiet*, when baſking under the full blaze of that precious cheering freedom, the reflection of whoſe rays they ſo anxiouſly and piouſly prayed for. But, how has it turned out?—NAPPER TANDY behaved in ſuch a turbulent manner; he vented ſuch ſavage abuſe on all branches of the government, that he was very ſoon driven from his lodgings as a monſter. People would not remain under the ſame roof with him; and this, too, when ſans-culotiſm was far from being obſolete.—HAMILTON ROWAN, in three days after his arrival in the city of Philadelphia, became one of the leaders of a mob of malcontents, aſſembled on purpoſe to over-awe General Waſhington, and deter him from ſigning the commercial treaty with Great Britain.—REYNOLDS, ſtill more boldly and induſtriouſly ſeditious, after having long contributed to a print in the pay of France, in which the government was daily traduced, publiſhed a moſt falſe and wicked libel againſt Mr. PICKERING, the principal Secretary of State, directly accuſing him with malverſation in his office. The falſhood was proved upon him, and he is now under a criminal proſecution for the offence. Thus, the man who inhabited Kilmainham jail for ſeditious practices and contumacy to the Houſe of Lords, in Ireland, can alſo make ſhift to get ſeized by the ſheriff in America. And this is the very identical REYNOLDS, too, who, prayed ſo ſincerely for the reflection of the "pure principles and genuine "luſtre of freedom from the American Coaſts!"

Nothing ſhort of a ſtate of rebellion can content theſe wretches. All governments are to them alike hateful. Like Lucifer, they carry a hell about with them in their own minds; and thus they prowl from country to country. When in Ireland, *reform* was their *ſtalking horſe*. Give them but

universal suffrage, and they would be content. For this they associated; for this they swore; and for this they murdered.—Well, *here* they found it in all its mobbish glory. Here every man, however ignorant, poor, or infamous, had a vote; and every office was elective, from the President to the petty-constable. In fact, they found here every regulation, and every principle of political liberty, which they pretended it was the end of their combination to enforce in their own country; but they did not find here what it was their real wish to effect in Ireland, namely, *a complete subjection to the will of Jacobin France*; and for this reason, and this alone, they have never ceased to manifest their hostility to the government, from the first moment of their landing to the present hour; and they are now just as busy and as indefatigable in the work of rebellion and bloodshed *here*, as ever they were in Ireland.

Miscreants! They have poisoned the domestic harmony of this country, and have for ever blasted the character of their own. The name of *Irishman* is become, and not without reason, detestable in the ears of Americans. Justice, however, forbids us to carry this resentment to any thing like a *general prejudice*. The innocent are never to be condemned with the guilty.

Ireland, owing to a combination of untoward circumstances, offered a favourable prospect to the views of the Jacobins; these circumstances have been improved to the greatest possible extent; but, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous in the extreme, to impute to the whole nation the crimes of the infamous few; crimes in which their fidelity has scorned to participate, and which their zeal and courage have detected and brought to punishment. Sufficiently great is the misfortune to be the coun-

instead of a traitor, without being loaded with a share of his guilt.

The great body of the Iriſh, inſtead of contempt and reproach, merit admiration and applauſe. They have had greater temptations to reſiſt, and a more formidable conſpiracy to combat, than any other people in Europe; yet their loyalty has triumphed, ſtill triumphs, and, I truſt, it ever will triumph, over every art and violence, to which it has been or ſhall be oppoſed.

THE END.

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